

Settler Colonialism:  
The Government of Canada's Policing of Indigenous People

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## **Introduction**

For many around the world, September 11, 2001 (9/11) marks a day of significant loss, trauma, and heartache. The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon occurred almost two decades ago yet marks as a pivotal moment within history and how governments worldwide now categorize, respond, and mitigate threats to the national security and wellbeing of their nation. 9/11 paved the intensification of security and surveillance and broadened mandates for national security policies. These broadened mandates created a security intelligence alliance amongst countries, for instance, Five Eyes (FVEY), which includes Canada, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. This alliance shares a broad range of intelligence and is one of the world's most unified arrangements due to their similarities in progressive societies and vigorous human rights policies (Public Safety 2021). However, resulting from the policy and legislative changes that were formed post-9/11, the categories, classifications, and descriptions of what constitutes terrorism, extremism, and national security threats have become contingent on racial and religious profiling. Many government agencies use 9/11 as a basis for their strengthened national security policies but simultaneously use this as a legal ground to utilize race-based surveillance and further marginalized, vulnerable populations.

National security policies by the Government of Canada have undergone many reforms to mitigate potential threats and protect its citizens and their critical infrastructures. This brings forth questions such as, what does the Canadian government *truly* categorize as a threat to the nation's wellbeing? And specifically, who is included in the mandate to protect Canada's national security? While the government of Canada and its policing and security agencies have tightened their policies around national security post 9/11, at whose expense do they do this? On

a macro-level, surveillance is used as a dominant tool of close monitoring used by the government to protect the nation, including but not limited to passports, biometric technologies at borders, and social insurance numbers (SIN). On a micro-level, understanding the significance and historical underpinnings of these surveillance tools is very complex, can become oppressive, infringe on human rights, and become weaponized as a means of control.

### *Practices of Power*

The concept of *acquiring control* is explored by many scholars of surveillance, looking at how those in power not only sought it but who, in the process, have been subjected to systematic marginalization. This major research paper looks at how Indigenous people of Canada have become posed as domestic terrorist threats to Canada's national security. Through exploring Canada's settler-colonial history, I argue that the Canadian government finds itself embodying contemporary settler colonialism, furthering the silencing of Indigenous people to exploit the land for capital expansion. On June 11, 2008, during a special joint session of the House of Commons and the Senate, conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper issued an apology for the Residential schools:

*I stand before you today to offer an apology to former students of Indian residential schools. The treatment of children in Indian residential schools is a sad chapter in our history...Today, we recognize that this policy of assimilation was wrong, has caused great harm, and has no place in our country.... The government now recognizes that the consequences of the Indian residential schools policy were profoundly negative and that this policy has had a lasting and damaging impact on aboriginal culture, heritage and language (The Government of Canada 2010, Eshet 2015: 64).*

Interestingly, a year later, at the Group of Twenty (G2) Summit, an intergovernmental forum comprising 19 countries and the European Union, Harper expressed a statement that severely contradicted his apology:

*We have one of the longest standing unbroken democratic regimes in history. We are one of the most stable regimes in history. There are very few countries that can say for nearly 150 years, they had the same political system without any social breakdown, political upheaval, or invasion, we are unique...we also have no history of colonialism, so we have all of the things that many people admire about the great powers (Ladner and McCrosan 2014: 200).*

Canada does have not only a history of colonialism but persisting presence of colonialism, and I explore ways the Canadian government further embodies contemporary settler colonialism through settler governmentality, heightened surveillance, and controlling Indigenous populations who rightfully resist these *great powers* of illegal and oppressive administrative regimes.

Policies and legislation throughout Canada's history, such as the Indian Act, discussion of pushing a White Paper, and surveillance tools, showcase the grave marginalization Indigenous people have and are still experiencing. Have we as a nation moved past these forms of oppression? In the past decade, Canada saw not only the discussion and administrative force to dismantle environmental laws that would harm First Nations and their land but imposed the construction of a pipeline on unceded territory not relinquished by the Wet'suwet'en people of Northern British Columbia. In rightful resistance to these oppressive systemic policies and administrations, the Canadian government and its policing and security agencies have carefully utilized heightened national security policies to frame Indigenous resistance movements as domestic terrorist threats to Canada's national security and critical infrastructure. Through this,

branches of Canada's government policing and security agencies, such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), among many, have invaded these resistance movements to criminalize, exert violence and utilize oppressive surveillance to protect its political and economic interest, under the guise of protecting Canada's national security.

I divide my paper into two sections by exploring key theoretical concepts of colonial and surveillance discourse. My first section consists of three sub-sections, providing theoretical concepts to understand how administrative power is attained and enforced at the cost of the Indigenous people of Canada. I explore three primary theories: settler governmentality, biopolitics, and surveillance as social sorting. These three key concepts are explained as stand-alone sections but later connect to demonstrate their influence within one another. The second section of my paper is divided into two sub-sections, exploring two case studies. The first case study, '*Settler Governmentality within National Security Policies*,' addresses policies and legislation enforced by the Canadian government throughout administrative history and how Canada finds itself exercising post-settler colonialism to marginalize Indigenous people further. This includes policies that dictate the citizenship of Indigenous people; representative of biopolitics and policies surrounding national security; representative of settler governmentality; and social sorting. This case study demonstrates how the Canadian state manipulates governance to reflect racist ideologies and how policing and security agencies collaborate to maintain these practices. My second case study, '*Policing Indigenous Resistance Movements*,' explores Indigenous resistance to the Canadian government as an endeavor of settler colonialism pursuing unceded Indigenous land for extractive capitalism. This case study explores the resistance

movement of Idle No More and how Canada's policing and security agencies have resorted to violence and heightened surveillance that inflicts 'war on terror'.

## **Part 1: Context into Contemporary Settler Colonialism**

### *Settler Colonial Governmentality*

Throughout this paper, I refer to settler-colonial governmentality to mirror the biases within Canada's governance and explore the relationship between Canada and its colonial governance of Indigenous people. Scholars of colonial discourse explore how Canada is bounded by its colonial ideologies and practices and what is now exemplified as post-colonial, recovering voices of people who have been marginalized by the colonialism of the past (Pandit and McGuire, 1995:3). Settler-colonial studies suggest that countries with no colonial history can continue colonial associations because these relations have become ingrained in the majority of non-Indigenous settler populations. These non-Indigenous settler populations maintain and promote colonial dispositions of bounding Indigenous people as sources of insecurity and anxiety (Crosby and Monaghan 2012: 423).

Extending from studies pertaining to settler-colonialism, this section explores the relationship between Canada and Indigenous people through settler-colonial governmentality. Much discourse around this topic may refer to either colonialism or settler-colonialism, which drive to the same point from different angles; colonialism refers to solely a permanent condition of management and exploitation, versus *settler-colonialism* refers to the acquisition of lands, and the act of settling, hence settler-colonial governmentality (Crosby and Monaghan 2012: 7). Michel Foucault coined the term *governmentality* as a guideline for combining both governing (*gouverner*) and modes of thought mentality (*mentalité*), asserting that to understand technologies of power, one must consider political rationality that influences technologies of

power (Foucault 1977: 67). Foucault views government as the “conduct of conduct”, which extends to governing the self and governing others (67). Governmentality refers to how the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual influence one another (Foucault 1982: 220-221). Further, governmentality helps explain how governance is created and exerted to provide foundations for establishing systems of power (Foucault et al.: 1991: 7). In sum, governmentality is to govern, thus combining settler-colonialism with governmentality, and *settler-colonial governmentality* becomes a concept in and of itself.

Through settler-colonial governmentality, Canada has pursued modes of governance to control Indigenous people with various tools of power to eliminate Indigenous life through *the logic of elimination*. Settler-colonialism includes many modes of the logic of elimination that seek to invade and conquer populations (Wolfe 2006: 388). Settler-colonial governmentality aims to eliminate the voice and the presence of Indigenous people of Canada via modes of assimilation to invent new modes of a (white) settler society. For this to occur, eliminating indigenous populations focuses on addressing the ‘the other’ through various forms of governance, policies, and legislation. While settler-colonial governmentality reflects managerial structures, it simultaneously aims at eliminating Indigenous ways of life, i.e., culture, language, self-determination, traditions, and practices. The governance by Canada through the logic of elimination, such as the security and policing agencies, is to categorize those ways of living as security threats to the health and prosperity of the settler state (Crosby and Monaghan 2012: 427).

Specific to settler-colonial governmentality and logic of elimination is the willingness to use violence by European domination, settler-colonists. Mbembé (2003) provides insight into this relationship as he argues that within postcolonialism, there exist many ways the state

embarks on enforcing biopolitics (27). Similarly, Foucault also theorizes how postcolonialism undertakes sovereignty, discipline, and biopolitical power to promote colonial governance (Crosby and Monaghan 2012: 426). Through acquiring power, these tools of domination lead to security mechanisms of colonial influence, where settler-colonial governmentality seeks to order and categorize Indigenous people. Enforcement of colonial ideologies is argued by Jean and Jean Comaroff (2007) as *lawfare*, where authorities resort to legal measures to influence “political coercion, and even erasure” (144). Lawfare against Indigenous identity in settler societies demonstrates methods in how settler-colonial governmentality exemplifies the logic of elimination. Lawfare remains a tool of power as it reinforces colonial governance of targeting and promoting Indigenous people as threats and exposes people to surveillance and security measures while justifying the means of security enforced.

Through surveillance and the security state, settler-colonial governmentality provides a path for relentless monitoring and controlling of Indigenous populations and their communities. Of course, while surveillance is the act of watching, through a lens of settler-colonial governmentality, surveillance is a branch of political controls and appropriation of land and resources (Smith 2009: 19). Understanding settler-colonial governmentality helps understand the extensive security practices exercised by the Canadian state and agencies of policing. Settler-colonial governmentality within Canada depends on ‘colonial tools of dispossession’, as it enforces its own post-colonial story and celebrates itself as a country that has overcome its colonial troubles of the past (Crosby and Monaghan 2012: 425).

Through acquiring land, settler-colonialism was not interested in the labour of Indigenous people but rather Indigenous land as colonialists saw more opportunities to acquire capital through land acquisition (Harris 2004:173). Dispossessing Indigenous people of their land has

been a primary concern of settler-colonial governmentality, rendering their identity as minorities to target and enforce population management systems. For instance, the reservation system (herein reserves) is a product of population management, implemented by settler-colonial governmentality as a biopolitical strategy (Monaghan 2013: 496). Reserves or *Indian Reservations* (a term still utilized by the Canadian Government) remains the most visible form of separating First Nations people from the rest of Canada (Musto 1990: 105). However, despite land centered around their ways of living, specific to Indigenous identity, settler-colonial governmentality responded to “traditional indigeneity as abnormal” as it posed a significant threat to settler-colonial values (Monaghan 2013: 493). By posing a threat and resisting the settler society, Indigenous people are further racialized as *Indians* (Crosby and Monaghan 2012: 92). Through the logic of elimination, settler-colonial governmentality seeks to accumulate Indigenous territory and eliminate forms of autonomy through sovereignty and interventions that frame Indigenous identity as direct violence, which are particular focuses of security agencies to justify surveillance practices.

In *Settler Governmentality and Racializing Surveillance in Canada's North-West*, Jeffrey Monaghan (2013) explores settler-colonial governmentality within the Canadian government's pursuit of land. Canada's land theft was seen as a “gargantuan real-estate transaction (Monaghan 2012: 494). Three years preceding Confederation in 1867, Rupert's territory was sold by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Canadian federal government, encompassing Alberta, Saskatchewan, Yukon, Nunavut, and the Northwest territories. Despite not having surveys, land title offices, or paper deeds, the Hudson's Bay Company proceeded with land sales *despite* being met with Indigenous and Métis resistance (494). Following this sale, Ottawa saw an opportunity to push systematic governance, enforced by Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's 1878 National

Policy that reflected “cohesive economic, social and political projects” (Green 1995). This policy was contingent on land, as it became an opportunity for capitalistic expansion, instigating the Canadian government to enforce power over Indigenous people and their land through political jurisdiction (Green 1995). This was enabled *at the cost* of Indigenous people, as these discussions and eventual realities that now constitute Canadian history are based on eliminating Indigenous autonomy, influencing “policies of containment and surveillance” (Nettelbeck and Smandych 2010: 357).

Through surveillance, Western Canada established reserves, a project of Canadian treaty-making that demarcated exclusive territories for Indigenous groups (Monaghan 2012: 495). Reserves reflect as institutions of surveillance and what Foucault would argue as employing disciplinary surveillance, through settler governance, policing agents, Indian agents, religious officials, etc., systematically reported the happenings of Indigenous people on reserves (495). To justify their presence, colonists (politicians, settlers, and beyond) generalized categories of Indigenous people, rendering them dangerous and deviant and deciphering who were bad ‘Indians’. These labels justified regulation for the Canadian state and its security agencies to protect the wellbeing and security of the nation (white population) and utilize surveillance to monitor levels of adaptation and resistance of Indigenous people. Settler governmentalities represent the battle Indigenous people of Canada face with modes of governing reflective of settler values enforced through settler-colonial governmentality.

## **Biopolitics**

### *Settler-colonial governmentality and logic of elimination*

Settler-colonial governmentality seeks to further the colonial governance through controlling settler societies governed by White European colonists. Through settler-colonial governmentality, the logic of elimination dispossesses Indigenous land by reducing Indigenous populations as ‘the Other’ and placing them in categories of minorities. This is discussed as “elusive fiction” and a condition of post-coloniality, where post-colonial societies such as Canada are created through land settlement, displacing and controlling Indigenous people, and enforcing legal policies over Indigenous populations (Gregory 2004: 7). It is possible to note particular historical events through understanding settler-colonial governmentality and the rationalities of colonialism that promote occurrences within the Canadian state as normal. Through this, settler-colonial governmentality promotes ‘other systems’ such as traditions and governance of Indigenous populations as abnormal.

Through settler-colonial governmentality lies settler capitalism, promoting settler motives of vanishing Indigenous populations, and those who do not uphold economic paradigms and hinder Canadian progression remain on the “outside” (Lawrence 2004: 27). Here, policies and surveillance work together to seek threats that threaten these economic paradigms and Canadian progression. The Canadian government and its branches of policing and surveillance focus on Indigenous people not embodying standards reflective of settler-colonial governance and values (Crosby and Monaghan 2012: 41). These tactics of policing and surveillance pose significant barriers to the settler state of land theft and imposed governance that seeks to disrupt Indigenous ways of living and exploit land and resources, which additionally pose as barriers to settler-colonial economic prosperity (41).

The Canadian state utilizes surveillance to reinforce colonial paradigms and promote material interests (Smith 2009: 20). The first case study exploring government policies exemplifies the continuity of settler-colonial governmentality and surveillance that therein affect colonial governance to deem Indigenous resistance activity as criminal, terrorist, and pose a significant threat to Canadian national security (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 2). Oppressive surveillance and policing tactics promote settler-colonial governmentality to eliminate Indigenous presence within Canada.

### *Policies of Settler State*

Discussions of settler-colonialism focus on settler-colonial governmentality's influence on controlling Indigenous populations. White settlers sought to control colonial governance through biopolitics to dominate the Indigenous population by enforcing hierarchies. Stevenson (2012) discusses how we must understand biopolitics and colonialism together (593), to understand the bureaucratic regime, we find the settler-colonial governance enforcing. Stevenson urges in *'The psychic life of biopolitics'* (2012) to look at colonial desires and the "affective undertows" biopolitics promotes. I explore questions from Stevenson, for instance, she questions how we can make sense of what is happening to Indigenous people and how it is reflective of colonial imaginaries (2012: 595).

Further, Stevenson explores biopolitics and murder by referring to Foucauldian studies on biopower to focus on the relationship between power and elimination. Power is enforced "at the level of life, the species and the race" (Foucault 2003: 254) and focuses on how power is not exerted on specific individuals but masses whose lives and wellbeing are at risk. Furthermore, Stevenson concurs with Wolfe (2006) that appropriation of native land is a form of genocide, as "land is life" (387), and asserts Canada as a settler-colonial state (Stevenson 2012: 598).

Through legislation and policies, the government of Canada controls Indigenous people and their legal belonging (Simpson 2014: 10). ‘*Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* by Audra Simpson’ (2014) provides understanding to the query on biopolitical orders that dominate land and life, Indigenous struggle with the Canadian state and is a sign of persistent colonial existence (7). This existence strives to eliminate Indigenous people, take their land, assimilate them into white values and enforce biopolitics (8). Simpson (2014) explores the question of membership and how political membership and formal recognition were created within their community, independent from the Canadian state (8). Reservations or reserves were comprised of 6,154 on the band list and 9, 531 on the Federal registry list, and these are vital as they allocate membership as it extended one of “the rights that matter” such as living on reserves, to voting in band council or tribal elections, and to eventually be buried on the reservation (8). However, these terms were outlined in the Indian Act of 1876, a sheer representation of colonial and settlercolonial governmentality, as it dictated the laws of ‘Indians’ in Canada (10). As biopolitics promotes the control of people through politics, the Indian Act dictated the mobility of Indigenous people, reducing their labels of *Indians* and bounding them as the Other in a White Western world governed by colonial governance. The Indian Act sparked questions as to how Indigenous people were to proceed as a nation, as their legal belonging and mobility were stultified due to the sovereignty of a foreign colonial government. For this to occur, Simpson (2014) supports how the Canadian state never saw Indigenous people with a governmental system or philosophical order but simply “remnants of a culture,” a minority (10).

Biopolitical governance enforces direct modes of power, through policies, subjecting people to security and surveillance, while exercising sovereign authority. Canada’s historical past is premised on both settler-colonial governmentality and biopolitics, reflecting settler

values, and further its political agenda. Through discussions of amendments to the Indian Act in 1920, Deputy General Duncan Campbell Scott stood before the House of Commons firmly stating:

*I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that this country ought to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone. That is my whole point. I do not want to pass into the citizens' class people who are paupers. That is not the intention of the Bill. But after one hundred years, after being in close contact with civilization it is enervating to the individual or to a band to continue in that state of tutelage, when he or they are able to take their position as British citizens or Canadian citizens, to support themselves, and stand alone. That has been the whole purpose of Indian education and advancement since the earliest times. One of the very earliest enactments was to provide for the enfranchisement of the Indian... our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department that is the whole object of this Bill (Niessen 2017: 35).*

Through influence of assertion, in 1969, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien proposed a policy largely based on ideologies proposed by Scott. This policy, The White Paper, proposed the following policy objectives:

- 1) eliminate Indian status, dissolve the Department of Indian Affairs within five years,
- 2) abolish the Indian Act and remove section 91.24 (“Indians and lands reserved for the Indians”) in the BNA Act,

- 3) convert reserve land to private property that can be sold by the band or its members,
- 4) transfer responsibility for Indian Affairs from the federal government to the provinces and integrate these services into those provided to other Canadian citizens, and
- 5) appoint a commissioner to gradually terminate existing treaties.

The White Paper was proposed to redefine the relationship between the Canadian government and the First Nations people, framing to prevent discrimination against First Nations People by eliminating “Indian Status” (Kerr 2017:51). While this paper was never accepted due to intense backlash, the White Paper remains a pivotal moment in Canadian history that was not different from any other assimilationist policy; it simultaneously was utilized in the name of liberalism to end the “Indian” problem in Canada. The White Paper was a calculated attempt by the Canadian federal government to rid itself of Indian business by enforcing legislation with hopes of driving Indians into extinction—and to frame it as an act of justice for their benefit (Turner 2006).

Keith Smith (2009) explores biopolitical means of exclusion through the pass systems in his book *Liberalism, Surveillance and Resistance*. Dating back to May 6, 1885, Major-General Fred Middleton of the Canadian Militia in the North-West wrote to Indian Commissioner Lieutenant Edgar Dewdney asking if “it would be advisable to issue a proclamation warning half breeds and Indians to return to their Reserves and that all those found away will be treated as rebels?” (63). Dewdney wrote that he issued a notice “advising Indians to stay on the Reserves and all those found away would be treated as rebels” (63). This notice included a warning that “all good and loyal Indians should remain quietly on their Reserves where they will be perfectly safe and receive the protection of the soldiers and that any Indian being off his Reserve without

special permission in writing from some authorized person, is liable to be arrested on suspicion of being a rebel and punished as such” (63). These passes then manifested into being given from

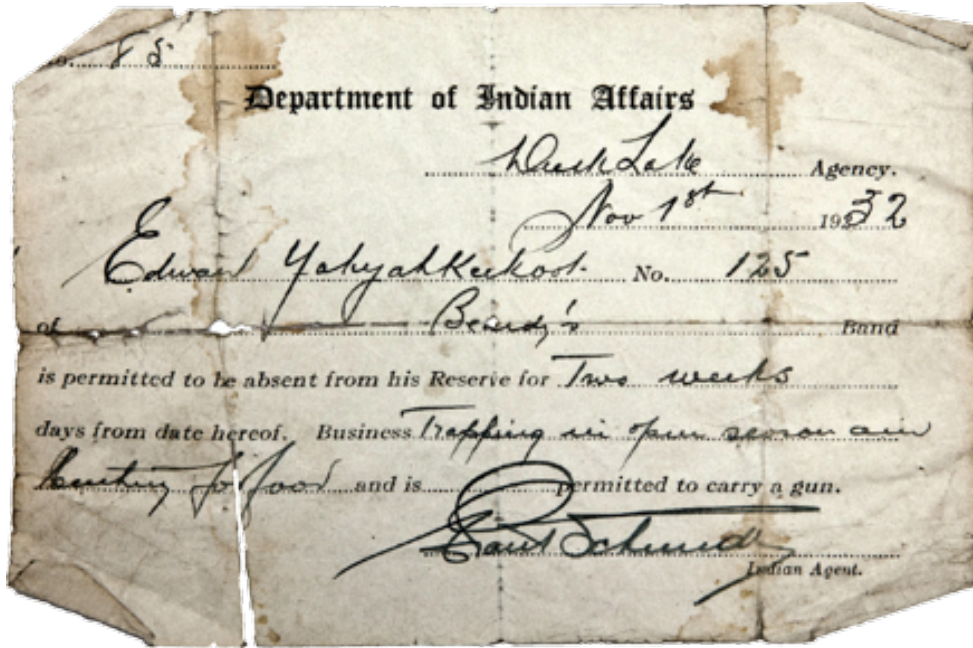


Figure 1

‘rebel Indians’ to ‘all Indians’, stating that these pass systems were “keeping the Indians on their respective reserves and not allowing them to leave without passes”

(64). To obtain a pass (see figure 1) , Indigenous people were required to receive a pass signed by the Indian agent, stating when they could leave, where they were to go, and when they had to return (Nestor 2019). This loss of freedom was at the hands of the government’s biopolitical regime for creating policies such as the pass system to control populations and movement, i.e., Indigenous people requiring passes to leave their homes. This vocabulary used by Canadian Government officials in discussing Indigenous people as ‘rebels’ considers them threats, influencing the creation of policies to protect Canada’s safety (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 176). This demonstrates a form of biopolitical governance that responds to threats by dictating political freedom. Security and surveillance become the solution to problems that undermine settler-colonial governmentality. This link is clear as no support was provided to state why they were ‘rebels’; instead, it can be inferred that this logic was based on racism, as settler-

colonialism has organized liberalism based on racialized hierarchies or progress and civilization (14).

Settler-colonialism is ever-present within modern Canadian society, exemplified through the Indian Act. The Indian Act has been revised, removing explicit, physical, and political forms of surveillance and oppressive regulations such as the pass system. 2010 saw the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and was signed by the Canadian federal government in 2016, yet its implementation in Canada is still unknown.

### *Surveillance as Social Sorting*

Surveillance today takes on new avenues that sort, categorize and reflect what was discussed as settler-colonial values, creating a ‘them versus us’ taxonomy, assigning worthiness or risk within society. David Lyon (2003) argues surveillance as controlling and bounding populations in *Surveillance as social sorting: privacy, risk, and digital discrimination*. The fundamental argument throughout the book is the following:

*surveillance today sorts people into categories, assigning worth or risk, in ways that have real effects on their life-chances. Deep discrimination occurs, thus making surveillance not merely a matter of personal privacy but of social justice* (Lyon 2003: 1).

These categories have a detrimental impact on those who are socially sorted and echo within society that further displaces these individuals. Surveillance as social sorting becomes a social justice issue, reflective of settler-colonial governance controlling biopolitics around vulnerable populations. Social sorting combines social and economic categories that influence computer coding and data that categorize people, thereby influencing and managing them (Lyon 2003: 2). For example, post 9/11, the idea of social sorting and having one’s culture or religion be a defining factor caused significant anxiety. For instance, many feared that by being ‘Muslim’ or

‘Arabic’, they were linked to categories of terrorism and would be profiled at airports and border checkpoints (2). At the hands of progressing surveillance, creating division through social sorting is an issue that further separates humanity, “dividing them into a small number of like groups” (Phillips and Curry 2003:139). This section explores how surveillance in practice is premised on organizing and creating categories to perpetuate stereotypes and prejudices further.

As social sorting promotes discriminatory categories and furthers pre-existing categories of subjectivity, it also characterizes populations as deviant and “the Other”. Establishing identities has become a primary concern in the organization of the modern nation-state to connect citizens to the state (Stalder and Lyon 2003: 77). The creation of these identities is present in government agencies such as social services and law enforcement and helps conceptualize what constitutes national security through classifying populations to enforce appropriate governance measures, for instance, which government policies and laws should be exercised. Through the global rise in terrorist attacks, national security has become the focus of many governments worldwide, which is argued as a means to control people, but simultaneously push oppressive and prejudicial political agendas. While not new, identification Cards (herein ID cards) quickly became a focus and increased in presence around the world, especially post attacks of the World Trade Center (Twin Towers in New York City) and the Pentagon (US Headquarters for defense) in 2001.

ID cards bring to the surface discussions on categories of who is included and excluded, also conferred as ‘us versus them’. ID cards are visible signs of bureaucratic administration systems, a branch of surveillance to monitor and bind populations to a territory or jurisdiction (Stalder and Lyon 2003: 78). When I refer to ‘them versus us’, I refer to arguments that reflect social sorting within settler-colonial governance, creating citizenship a privilege, more so one

that is white. Through settler-colonial discourse, First Nations in Canada are represented as unsettled, nomadic, or rootless as it strives to dissolve “native societies” (Wolfe 2006: 388, 396).

### *Panopticism as Social Sorting*

ID cards, badges, or documents often bring discussions to the surface of historical genocides such as Nazi Germany and South Africa under apartheid. These cards singled out population groups for special treatment, privilege, or disadvantage. ID cards serve as a means of social sorting under the guise of national security, where governments and security agencies can create threat profiles, outlining specific characteristics (Stalder and Lyon 2003: 83). Alas, my assertions here lie based on what Lyon’s book often refers to as images of the panopticon. Images of the panopticon have enforced powerful metaphors in understanding surveillance, especially in terms of power and control, especially for discussions around settler-colonial governmentality. Briefly, the panopticon promotes not only power but influences the acquisition of such power and therein control. The panopticon (see figure 2) is a structure designed by

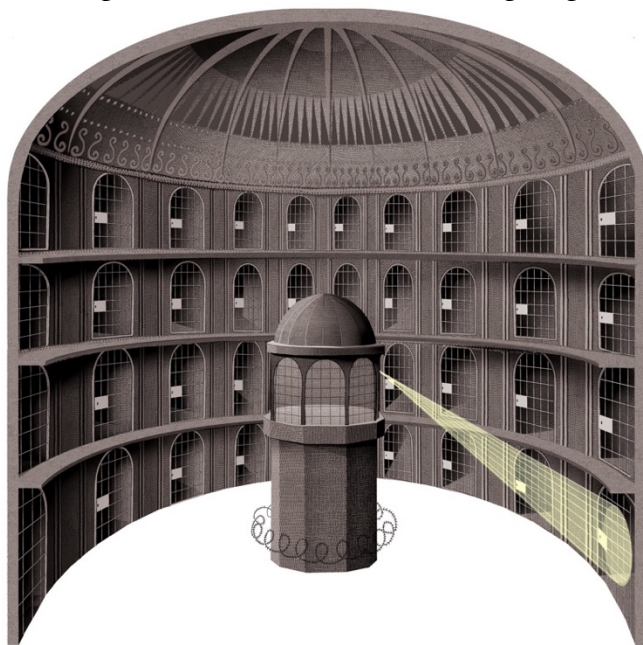


Figure 2

architect Jeremy Bentham but was theorized by Foucault to state its theoretical and social significance. This structure was found in prisons allowing a supervisor to watch prisoners without being seen (Foucault 2008: 5). It was a semi-circular pattern with an ‘inspection lodge’ with cells around the perimeter. Prisoners, who originally were to be in individual cells, were in full view of

the guards, but the guards were unseen by the prisoners. By careful manipulation of fixed

systems of lighting and wooden blinds, viewers of the inmates were invisible. Control was enforced as it maintained the constant anxiety of prisoners being watched. There was nowhere to hide, hence Bentham's neologism of the panopticon as an 'all-seeing place' (Lyon 1994: 63). This inevitably led the prisoner to assume they were always under watch and self-regulate in fear of repercussions.

Thus, in terms of understanding ID cards, metaphors of the panopticon are reminiscent of what Foucault describes as a disciplinary society; where the panopticon is a surveillance tool to order and control society (Norris 2003: 250). The panopticon is symbolic within discussions of ID cards because ID cards in and of themselves promote belonging, identity, and the pressure to self-regulate. One can run a red light if they choose; however, the pressure of being caught through CCTVs and being reprimanded is an extension of self-regulation that citizens are inevitably controlled by. I am asserting here that ID cards represent self-regulation, a technique to order society, socially sort and target individuals. Foucault demonstrated that metaphors of the panopticon induce the state of consciousness and permanent visibility to assure the automatic functioning of power (Foucault 1977: 201). While I agree, I further this query to argue throughout this research paper that this functioning of power reflects settler-colonial governance.

#### *Permit Books and Social Sorting*

David Lyon's *Theorizing Surveillance: The panopticon and beyond* (2006), Gary Genosko and Scott Thompson's chapter on the temporalities of surveillance further explore social sorting as an extension of race-based surveillance. Genosko and Thompson (2006) explored the following example and provided a central understanding of social sorting and biased conceptions of identity. Between 1927 to 1962, the government of Canada exemplified

**No Amounts to Appear at Top Except Made by Cash Register**  
**LIQUOR CONTROL BOARD OF ONTARIO**

Date.....

Please Supply the Undermentioned Goods:

Brand No.	No. Bottles	KIND OF LIQUOR	PRICE	Total Amount

WRITE SEPARATE ORDER FOR EACH SIZE AND BRAND

**ENDORSER'S USE ONLY**

I am of the full age of twenty-one years and in accordance with the provisions of the LIQUOR CONTROL ACT OF ONTARIO, I am entitled to make this purchase.

.....  
Signature

.....  
Street and Number

.....  
City, Town, Village, etc.

Permit No.  
Form No. 8-25

FOR USE OF CENSOR ONLY

Figure 3

social sorting through the control of liquor and its sale for profit through the Liquor Control Board of Ontario (LCBO) (Genosko and Thompson 2006: 125).

Through control, the government of Canada pursued forms of IDs such as Permit Books (see figure 3), containing records of all alcoholic purchases (Genosko and Thompson 2006: 125). These permit books provided three copies of its data, first to the permit holder, second to the vendor, and third to the Permit department in Toronto. The data was updated daily to reflect any limitations. However, multiple permits

existed dictating maximum quantity conditions but were ultimately based on vendor discretion to promote social control of consumption, leading to self-control.

By tracking and classifying consumers, profiles were created specifying “fitness vis-à-vis income, employment, consumption habits and/or deviancy” (126). This data was administered as a basis for permit renewals or restrictions. For instance, those whose data was seen to gear towards restrictions were disciplined through classifications of being listed on an Interdiction List, informally called the Drunk List, and therein the racialized outcome of social sorting and creation of the ‘Indian List’ (2). LCBO shared the data of all consumers with provincial police and municipalities. The social sorting accomplished by the LCBO in conjunction with local and

national government agencies and police forces was seen to transform private interests, that of the LCBO and government, into public matters. It did so by recategorizing individuals, labeling them as alcoholics and deviants (Genosko and Thompson 2002: 2). What interests me is the social sorting and categorizing of what became the ‘drunken Indian’:

*A specific form of alcohol behaviour was produced by provincial and federal legislation; since alcohol had to be consumed on private property, and reserve land was public property, any drinking on the reserve was by definition illegal. Thus, public drinking became common for First Nations persons. However, even after First Nations people were granted the legal right to purchase alcohol in 1951, and 127 Tense theory: the temporalities of surveillance before that time, when they technically acquired the right to purchase alcohol by giving up their treaty rights (which was known by the sinister term as enfranchisement), this did not mean they would be served by their local LCBO vendors. Any ‘Indian-looking’ person was considered suspect and thus by dint of classification a potential problem drinker (which included geography since First Nations persons living in urban centres could be excluded by that fact alone). Individuals and First Nations Bands were required to petition for wet status from the early 1950s into the 1960s (Genosko and Thompson 2006: 127)*

Surveillance in the capacity of socially sorting characteristics and associating them to categories influences the distinctions between those who behave and those who are deviant, subjecting the latter to surveillance and discipline. The LCBO implemented eliminating individuals who lacked the self-discipline to drink responsibly while simultaneously maintaining panoptic control to create docile bodies as these Permit Boks inflicted “permanent visibility, that assures the automatic functioning of power” (Foucault 1977: 201). This can be understood through the

rationality of categorization, tools that promote pre-conceived notions that influence racist social sorting, that particularly harmed First Nations in Ontario but is evident within Canada as a whole. As surveillance mechanisms lie in settler-colonial values, rendering values and categories to control populations of those within these categories.

## **Part 2: Policing Indigenous People**

### **Case Study 01: Settler Governmentality within National Security Policies**

Practices of settler-colonial governmentality are presented through social sorting to create racialized categories, which also influence classifications of threats and biopolitics, as it justifies governance measures by the security state. Protecting Canada's security and wellbeing through national security is explored in this first case study to demonstrate that while Canada maintains its promise to protect Canada and its citizens, it simultaneously does so at the cost of Indigenous people, furthering their discrimination in Canada. I intend to highlight how the Canadian government and branches of security agencies justify heightened surveillance and policing through what they deem is protecting Canada's national security. This will then lead to my second case study of policing around the Northern Gateway Pipeline and Idle No More, a resistance movement to what is sheer settler-colonial governmentality by the Canadian government. As an outcome of settler-colonialism, I intend for these sections to indicate how the Canadian state utilizes governance to further promote Indigenous people as threats, deviants, and terrorists as they challenge colonial control over land and resources.

As illustrated in the section on social sorting, creating profiles and databases is a means for how surveillance organizes and categorizes populations, which the Canadian security state utilizes to target Indigenous people as national security threats (Monaghan and Crosby 2018: 44). Through forms of surveillance such as social sorting with the Permit Books, reserve pass

systems, and policies such as the Indian Act and the White paper, Canada as a colonial state fortified its position on how they viewed Indigenous people: threats to the political agenda. In understanding postcolonial relations, for where we will eventually discuss modern protest movements, we must go back to early policies surrounding oppressive surveillance of Indigenous people. Per s. 4(1)(a) of Canada's 'Access to Information Act' (herein 'the Act'), a Canadian Citizen or Permanent resident of Canada has the right to and shall, on request, be given access to any record under the control of a government institution.

However, CSIS has refused to release internal records on Indigenous-led actions by utilizing an exemption. This exemption cited in the Act is normally reserved for classified documentation or when there is a need to detect or suppress terrorism. These decisions were revealed surrounding the Indigenous Road and rail blockades. They were protesting in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en First Nation hereditary chiefs opposing the natural gas pipeline on their traditional territory in British Columbia. Connecting the resistance movements and CSIS' refusal to release internal records suggests that they viewed the road and rail blockades as a threat to Canada's sovereignty. An exemption in section 15(1) of the Act states that records connected to intelligence activities related to "detecting, preventing or suppressing subversive or hostile activities" can be protected if any activity falls under these categories (Government of Canada 2021). In early February of 2020, the RCMP enforced an order on the Wet'suwet'en protestors, preventing Coastal GasLink contractors from gaining access to the pipelines. It is important to note that the pipeline project was permitted for construction to cross into their territory without the nation's consent.

To understand how these surveillance means are utilized, it is pivotal to understand the legal ambiguity and exploitation that is done on the part of the Government of Canada. Since

1877 and 1927, the Canadian government and policing agencies labeled the Indigenous resistance movement as an effort of extremism, posing a threat to national security, blurring the lines between activism through protests and terrorism (Monaghan and Walby 2017: 50). As far back as 2007, the RCMP utilized terms such as “aboriginal extremism” when discussing Indigenous protests (50). This opened the gate to CSIS’ response to Aboriginal Occupations and protests. A developing concern was shared between high-level government officials and departments whose mandates pertain to Canada’s national security. CSIS reported, citing Section 143 of the Act, to justify their growing concern that the protests were an attack on critical infrastructure and “use of sabotage to further their political agenda” (50). According to Canada’s Public Safety National Strategy for Critical (NSCI) Infrastructure outlines, the purpose of NSCI is to build a safer and more resilient Canada and impacts many areas of sectors in Canada such as Energy and utilities, Information and communication technology, Finance, Health, Food, Water, Transportation, Safety, Government and Manufacturing (Public Safety 2021: 2). It serves to develop an all-hazards risk management approach to improve information sharing and protection (2). The NSIC outline also explains the risks to critical infrastructure in Canada, stating the risks are complex and frequent (4).

Since 2006, there has been a significant increase and militarization in response to Indigenous People, specifically towards those who threatened the economic interests of Canada. A report by Diabo and Pasternak (2011) reveals internal documents from Indian Affairs and the RCMP that preceding Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s entrance into office in January of 2006, the federal government had intensified intelligence gathering and sharing on First Nations. This was done immediately following his seat in office, as the Harper government gave specific directions for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) to play a lead role

in spying on First Nations by identifying leaders, participants, and outside supporters of the resistance movements, and compile lists of people to closely monitor thereafter. To be effective, INAC established 'Hot Spot Reporting Systems' (INAC 2007). This measure aimed to identify First Nation's leaders, participants, and outside supporters of First Nation occupations and protests, to monitor actions (Diabo and Pasternak 2011: 2).

The RCMP also implemented this measure to protect Canadian national security mandates within their Suspicious Incident Reporting (SIR) unit (RCMP 2011). Hot spot reporting was assigned to monitor, collect, and distribute data surrounding events led by First Nations and shared with national security agencies (Groves and Lukacs 2011). As all security agencies share either the same or similar focuses regarding national security practices, they are all premised on information sharing networks such as the Integrated Threat Assessment Center (ITAC) to coordinate security threats (Monaghan and Walby 2011: 134). Interestingly, ITAC was initially concerned with domestic terrorist signals to detect a perceived threat, such as financial security (of Canada) and Al-Qaeda-inspired groups; however, the ITAC expanded their focus to activist groups, Indigenous people, environmentalists, and others who publicly criticize government policy (134). Security and intelligence agencies have blurred the line between what is considered terrorism, extremism, and activism, which consequently broadens the measures that must be taken to protect Canada and blurs conventional scales of law enforcement and security.

Surveillance focused on suppressing social movements by blurring the lines between terrorism and activism. While there was no real terrorist threat, anyone suspicious of *rebellious* activity was immediately categorized under terrorism and extremism (Monaghan and Walby 2011: 146). Any action that triggered the criteria of terrorist and extremist categories influenced criminalization as the RCMP and CSIS, through the Act, list Indigenous extremism;

breaking windows, protesting, blockades, and even protesting against infringement of Indigenous rights were constituted in what consisted as threats to national security, as it posed a threat to critical infrastructure (144).

To understand how these types of relationships and systems exist, the historical context of surveillance and security is essential to understand. In 1984, CSIS was created and was mandated to respond to national security-related intelligence that differed from law enforcement activities. While CSIS pertained to national security and law enforcement to safety, in the MacDonald Commission's 1981 final report, they were intended to have a close relationship, forming an alliance and cooperation. This type of cooperation would be between the two agencies outlined in Federal legislation and memorandum of understanding (MOUs); while different mandates, the two would complement one another to share responsibilities and plans. The reason for CSIS and RCMP to have such heavy involvement with Indigenous resistance movements is exactly what was outlined in the 1981 final report, as CSIS did not have directions to provide advance warning to the RCMP for any matter that might pose a national security threat.

Preceding the final report, the CSIS Act of 1984 places the RCMP and CSIS as primary authoritative bodies in two separate intelligence classifications, the former reflecting the law and the latter to national security. Through modernization of national security and law, the two agencies' mandates became blurred, as criminal intelligence and security intelligence were subject to reassessment (Monaghan and Molnar 2016: 54). Criminal and security intelligence frameworks have increasingly become networked surveillance throughout modernization, considering anti-terrorism laws and multi-agency collaborations with law enforcement and security agencies. This exact reconfiguration and blurring of mandates across federal agencies

are how Transport Canada, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, the Canada Border Services Agency, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC), the RCMP, Ontario Provincial Police (OPP), CSIS, and Indigenous Tourism Association of Canada (ITAC), collaborated to heavily surveil the resistance movements from all angles. This relationship progressed to the growth of federal power, which sparked significant backlash around Bill C-51. This Bill, which has since been passed, allocates more power to law enforcement officials to make arrests if they are under the assumption there is suspected terrorist activity (17). This Bill was in support of the Minister of Public Safety and Emergency preparedness, which amends the Criminal Code of Canada and the CSIS Act, but at the cost of civil liberties. In other words, what this Bill has enabled is giving federal agencies the authority to take measures to reduce the threats to the security of Canada, even if it infringes on the Charter of Rights and Freedoms or other Canadian laws. Canada's national security policies represent the relationship between modern governmental power and sovereign power through biopolitical concerns to legitimate national security.

We can see the strengthening of national security policies after the 9/11 attacks as threats formed around capital expansion and the wellbeing and protection of a nation. However, it is interesting to see how Indigenous people have become targeted with this in mind. In pursuit of tightening security, Canada has undergone one of its largest reorganization strategies, combining governance measures to enforce security management (Bell 2006: 162). This means new policies, a cross-collaboration between government police agencies and countries, and information sharing. Nevertheless, in 2004, the Privy Council Office declared domestic extremism a significant threat to Canada's political and economic security, particularly in terms of critical infrastructure (Privy Council Office Canada 2004: 6). Thus, through this amendment

by Privy Council, resistance efforts of Indigenous people to settler-colonial governance are constructed as domestic extremism, becoming a target of the Canadian security state.

### **Case study 02: Policing Indigenous Resistance Movements**

Through combatting settler-colonial governmentality and colonialism, Idle No More is a movement that reflects opposition to colonial governance as Canadian legislation infringed Indigenous land and treaty rights (Crosby and Monaghan 2016: 42). The Canadian federal government had pushed legislation without consulting with those who it would be directly affecting, the Indigenous people of Canada, as it dishonored Indigenous sovereignty to protect land and water (42). Idle No More resisted settler governance echoing throughout North America, and forms of protests ensued, ranging from flash-mob round dances and marches in Ottawa, to economic blockades of railroads, highways, and international border crossings, to international solidarity actions abroad (43). These efforts posed significant threats to the well-being of Canada and its economy, heightening the security and policing agencies of Canada to respond to these ‘threats’. Idle No more resists Bill C-45, which the conservative government pushed under Steven Harper’s ruling, which changed the protocols around economic development, making it easier for the Canadian government to push projects without environmental assessments and consultations (Idle No More 2020). Idle No More started as a resistance movement to environmental protection laws that would profoundly affect First Nations who lived in the land where these colonial developments took place. However, through national attention and social media, Idle No More became an all-encompassing protest movement connecting the most remote reserves and fighting colonial governance.

*The Northern Gateway Pipeline*

The Northern Gateway Pipeline was a 7.9-billion-dollar pipeline by energy company Enbridge proposed in 2008. The pipeline (see figure 4) was presented to run from Bruderheim,



Figure 4

Edmonton, to Kitimat, British Columbia, one heading toward Bruderheim carrying condensate - a toxic mix of hydrocarbons - and the other carrying petroleum, heading

west. This proposal did not consider the Indigenous land that it is crossing and the possibility of spills (CBC News 2013). The Unist'ot'en nations of the Wet'suwet'en have faced many invasions from energy companies, oil companies, RCMP members, and other agencies deployed by national security agencies (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 62). In August of 2010, at a town council meeting with two Enbridge representatives, two hereditary chiefs expressed great resistance to further trespassing on unceded territories:

*We cannot be clearer about our position, there will [be] NO PIPELINES like Enbridge ... going through our territories. Enbridge ignored our last statement at the Hudson's Bay Lodge (on December 9, 2009) where they were warned not to trespass onto Wet'suwet'en territories ever again. Because of your return, we are issuing each of you an eagle feather for trespass. This is the last warning that you will receive. If you are caught trespassing with plans to come onto our territories again, you will be dealt with according to Likhts'amisyu Law. Municipalities, Provincial Governments, and Federal*

*Governments have no jurisdiction or authority over our unceded lands. The jurisdiction and authority belong to the title holders of the Wet'suwet'en House Groups and Clan Groups and nobody else* (Hereditary Chiefs of the Likhts'amisyu Clan 2014, Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 63).

These resistance statements were in firm opposition to what Enbridge had attempted to pursue, convincing their no to a yes, and when no action was taken, Unist'ot'en leaders sent letters to all involved with the pipeline, stating no pipelines were to begin construction and crossing their territory as they had constructed permanent camps that blocks paths of the proposed pipeline (64). These resistance efforts to the pipeline initiated an intense surveillance campaign that targeted Indigenous people opposing the pipeline involving investors (64). Through receiving an endorsement from the Canadian government, it supports how few Indigenous voices are heard on the pipeline (64). In addition, when Enbridge put forward the application, the Gateway pipeline was immediately “met with opposition from a broad spectrum of civil society and environment groups” (59). With the idea of Enbridge proceeding with the construction through the unceded territory, over 100 Indigenous groups have signed declarations opposing the pipeline. The pipeline quickly became a symbol of environment and social justice issues through secret pipeline negotiations, garnering critical public attention (59). Through gathering public attention and resistance, it was endorsed by the police, military, intelligence, border control agencies, the Royal Canadian Police, and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service to surveil the resistance to the pipeline plan and use it as grounds for criminalization (Preston 2013: 53).

The network of agencies that monitored the pipeline's opposition was collected and shared between themselves and the RCMP (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 73). These agencies were organized under what is called critical infrastructure (73). This mechanism directs

resources that are meant for the threat of war and terror onto a “broad spectrum of domestic actors” (73). This notion of critical infrastructure was used to characterize the Gateway pipelines even though it is not an actual piece of infrastructure (73). Nevertheless, giving the pipeline this title has allowed those profiting off extractive capitalism to target and label Indigenous protesters and environmentalists as security threats (73). By classifying Indigenous resistance under the domain of the war on terror, agencies from the security state can ignore governmental laws and responsibilities to the Indigenous communities and criminalize and surveil (73). Therefore, the security-state constructed an Indigenous terror threat since Indigenous actors resisted the Northern Gateway pipeline proposal to protect its potential to profit from the pipelines (Proulx 2014:83).

In August of 2010, national security stakeholders met at the RCMP headquarters in Ottawa to discuss security concerns related to Enbridge and devised “an integrated intelligence production plan” (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 70). The recorded summary document of this meeting is one of the only documents revealing the close relationship between Enbridge and the national security agencies (70). The document also shows the close connection between policing agencies and corporations, which are critical aspects of the security state, highlighting how they share surveillance and intelligence information, embodying a settler-colonial influence (70). On January 9, 2012, Natural Resources Minister Joe Oliver wrote an open letter targeting Indigenous protesters and environmentalists as “radical enemies of progress acting against the natural interest” (Oliver 2012; Global and Mail 2012). He argued that people who protest the pipeline are trying to “push a radical agenda” that forces delay, inevitably leading to the “killing of good projects,” and concluded that the government’s environmental legislation would be “gutted”

(Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 75). This statement birthed the Indigenous resistance group *Idle No More*.

The notion of biopower and how it is enforced is through state control to monitor and optimize (Foucault 1978: 136). Through biopower is the control of people associated with the panopticon to discipline and regulate a population. Impacts of surveillance are argued that through mass surveillance, the conduct of those surveilled is challenged (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 189). Those under surveillance embody the panoptic effect, which demonstrates what Foucault suggests as a power of the gaze structuring social conduct that can inflict paranoia and anxiety (189). Aspects of Indigenous life were monitored, such as personal data and police-issued checkpoints. The Aboriginal Policing Service, also known as RCMP's "E" division, created weekly reports on Indigenous resistance (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 83). The report would track opposition and warn other agencies about upcoming protests around the pipeline (83). The Canadian government engaged in highly discriminatory surveillance practices against people that served as prominent figures in the resistance to the pipeline (83). They did this by open-source surveillance and used covert and undercover methods seen through various intelligence reports that detailed Indigenous members' whereabouts (83).

Consequently, protests were one of the main ways Indigenous people voice their discontent with the pipeline projects. To stop the "critical infrastructure" of the pipeline, the Unist'ot'en of the Wet'suwet'en Nation created their form of critical infrastructure by building a settlement camp to prevent workers from entering their land (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 88). They resisted the settler-colonial state by taking ownership of their land and blocking workers from entering (88).

While the plans of the pipelines infringed upon the rights of Indigenous land claims, their efforts in resistance to the power of surveillance and marginalization were successful in idling pipeline construction. Idle No More, an Indigenous movement, was created in 2012/13 and has become perhaps one of the most impactful resistance movements (Webber 2016: 4). Idle No More began as a woman-led educational campaign across the prairie provinces, advocating the negative implications of the bill. This resistance effort moved beyond campaigning when chief Theresa Spence of the Attawapiskat Cree Nation publicized her hunger strike to advocate the housing conditions of her reserve in Northern Ontario and resistance to Bill C-45 (CBC News 2013). These efforts escalated as Idle No More began to occupy public places of streets and malls to road blockages of traffic. This influenced the Harper Government to monitor and identify authorized and unauthorized *Indians* to separate them (Webber 2016: 4). The Harper government ignited much of the surveillance as it undermined Canada as an “emerging energy superpower” (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 64). Throughout history, Indigenous people have been systematically oppressed to logic of elimination and the accumulation of settler wealth. Settler wealth, a consequence or branch of settler-colonial governmentality, is premised on extractivism, which seeks to transform the land into opportunities for natural resource activity, i.e., mining and influence export commodity markets (65). For extractivism to persist, another tactic of logic of elimination requires Indigenous people to give up their cultural ways of life, especially their connections to the land.

Idle No More rejects governmental power and those involved in cooperating colonial governance. It greatly impacts Canada's economic interest and ties with the United States for pipeline construction, rendering these protest movements and environmental activities domestic terrorist threats (65). This was to legitimate their surveillance and criminalization of resistance

efforts. The pipelines infringe on the safety of Indigenous land, as they pose a significant ecological footprint on tar sands energy production. Canada continues to fail to address climate change, leading to pipeline production resistance.

Canadian Infrastructure Protection (CIP) explores how the government seeks *domestic surveillance*, which can be applied to any entity that a state deems as a threat (54). Within CIP, national-level security agencies organize surveillance-oriented practices by coordinating hubs to work together with provincial, local police, and industry representatives (54). A theory explored by sociologist Vida Bajc argues *security meta-rituals* that support surveillance means by state agencies to decipher and target who is an outsider and insider, to monitor and block their access (54). This has become key to spatial and human control through surveillance (54). *Security metarituals* were seen in conjunction with CIP to monitor those disapproving of pipelines without disruption (Monaghan and Walby 2017: 54).

Surveilling pipelines strives to protect the land that the Government of Canada is seeking to use as a construction site. Power from the Canadian government, be it from the government itself, police, CSIS, or RCMP, attempts to defend and surveil any movement that challenges settler-colonial control over land, capitalism, and governance (Proulx 2014: 83, Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 22). The worry from the government stems from the economic and political implications that activism and protests create. To create a distraction from what the Indigenous communities are doing, the government seeks to portray them as “potential insurgents, terrorists, and criminals threatening the security of the Canadian state” to silence Indigenous politics and self-determination (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 22). Surveillance practices are often based on criminalization and movement suppression as surveillance can easily be linked to race-based surveillance, where social sorting can occur (Crosby and Monaghan 2018: 17). It renders those

under surveillance suspicious and insecure, as security agencies under the guise of national security, protecting Canadian political and economic interests (17). Through this, policing and security agencies reinforce their image as virtuous agents of control as they promote doing the greater good for Canada. When subjects of police governance are already racialized, discriminated against, and face significant prejudice in society, it is again another reminder of how Canada is still embodying forms of settler governmentality.

### **Discussion**

Exercising my primary theories of settler governmentality, biopolitics, and social sorting, is how the Canadian state exercises dynamic policing and security. Through collaboration with corporate partners and public bureaucracies, surveillance becomes a weaponized tool to promote a war on terror. War on terror broadens policing and security efforts to go beyond clear descriptions of terrorist groups or activities that inflict violence against unknowing civilian populations (Crosby and Monaghan 3). Consequently, Canada's national security has embodied the war on terror to expand the security state and control governance, which influences biopolitics, targeting vulnerable communities. War on terror has led Canada to categorize and rationalize Indigenous people as "Aboriginal extremists" for posing threats to the already oppressive settler governmentalities inflicted upon them.

To categorize these resistance movements as terrorism and extremism means the Canadian state, in pursuit of settler-colonialism, has come face to face with barriers to their extractive capitalist efforts. War on terror influenced the Canadian state to utilize social control agencies, and that is how national security policies and practices have grown to become increasingly oppressive. Under the guise of national security, the Canadian government exemplifies settler-colonialism by utilizing control mechanisms to silence and surveil those who

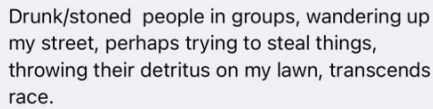
pose significant barriers. The panoptic effect alters the way surveillance can occur and how the Canadian government, through its policing and security agencies, shapes the conduct of those under watch as a tool of security meta rituals. Socially sorting cohorts to then target is a primary goal of race-based surveillance, as it seeks to promote Indigenous resistance as a threat to the wellbeing of Canada.

### *Canada's Public embodiment of Settler Colonialism*

Canada, as a settler-colonial state categorizing Indigenous-led resistance movements as threats to the nation's wellbeing, echoed throughout the country, influencing biases and judgments among non-Indigenous citizens. Through understanding the 'them versus us' and practices of 'othering,' it is evident how non-indigenous Canadians mirror settler-colonial values. Through administrative logic of eliminating in displacing Indigenous people within Canada, healthcare has become an issue that has fallen under the radar of importance to the government of Canada and has not been granted to many people living on Indigenous land. Larga Baffin is a medical boarding facility in Ottawa that provides culturally appropriate housing, meals, and transportation for patients from the Qikiqtani Region of Nunavut. This facility fly's patients into Ottawa to seek medical care, including but not limited to cancer treatment, care for high-risk pregnancies, or treatment for children's medical conditions that are not easily accessible in Nunavut.

In my neighbourhood in the south of Ottawa, Upper Hunt Club (UHC), an application has been issued to build a 220-room Larga Baffin facility right at the neighborhood's entrance. As a resident of Upper Hunt Club, I have joined the neighbourhood Facebook group and observed conversations amongst my neighbours, stating their concern for the potential rise in crime rates and attempting to find statistics that support their biases, as shown in figures 5 and 6.

Immediately, this facility was met with significant resistance from the UHC



Drunk/stoned people in groups, wandering up my street, perhaps trying to steal things, throwing their detritus on my lawn, transcends race.

21w Like Reply

1

Figure 5

neighbourhood with urgent consultations with

Ottawa politicians, lawyers, and realtors,

attempting to build a case to stop this proposal and

its construction. As this proposal has faced back-to-back pushback, it has been renewed by the

city and Councillor and mayoral candidate

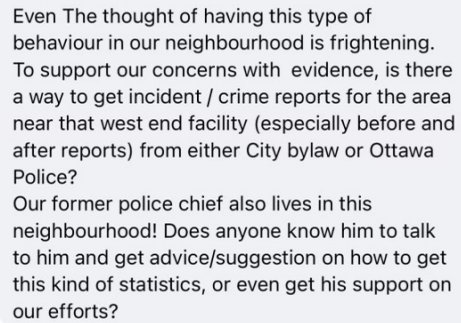
Diane Deans (representing the Gloucester-

Southgate ward in which UHC resides) held a

virtual meeting where neighbours discussed the

proposed development. Within the meeting,

many concerns were raised, that are mere



Even The thought of having this type of behaviour in our neighbourhood is frightening. To support our concerns with evidence, is there a way to get incident / crime reports for the area near that west end facility (especially before and after reports) from either City bylaw or Ottawa Police? Our former police chief also lives in this neighbourhood! Does anyone know him to talk to him and get advice/suggestion on how to get this kind of statistics, or even get his support on our efforts?

21w Like Reply

Figure 6

reflection on the success of settler-colonialism, where a UHC resident firmly stated: “I spent a lot

of money on this house, ok? It is not fair that the city will [propose construction] without

considering the residents of Upper Hunt Club... We are here first”. In a time where Indigenous

people are fighting for their voices to be heard, especially through Idle No More and opposition

of Bill C-45, being non-indigenous [MM2] and stating we are here first, on already unceded

Algonquin territory (Tomiak 2016: 8), is representative of how settler-colonial governmentalities

have not only attempted to govern the conduct of Indigenous people, but simultaneously shaped

the mentalities of non-indigenous people as well. Controlling the mentalities of non-Indigenous

people to Indigenous people, is how settler-colonial states such as Canada, remains settler-

colonial, creating an almost impossible battle to overcome as racist ideologies are deeply rooted

in the history and governance of Canada.

## Conclusion

This major research paper discussed many key sociological concepts within both colonial and surveillance studies to demonstrate how the government of Canada further marginalized Indigenous people through policies and varying forms of control. The various mechanisms of power enforced by the government of Canada are fundamental in understanding how Indigenous people endured systemic erasure throughout Canadian history and are still bound by colonial ideological practices today. The rationale for why I chose to divide this paper to address biopolitics, settler-governmentality, and social sorting is to demonstrate how these primary tools of control have been weaponized by the Canadian government and policing and security agencies. Biopolitics sets the tone for how control of the population through politics occurs to illustrate how creating hierarchies of people and policies such as the Indian Act were formed to further colonial sovereignty. Settler-governmentality focused on how through settler-colonialism, the government of Canada could control the conduct of Indigenous people and instill anxiety within the community to exploit the land and further their political and economic agenda. Lastly, social sorting demonstrates how race-based surveillance can influence categories and create biases that echo throughout society. The promotion of these biases has aided the Canadian government in successfully creating categories of 'rebellion' and 'threats' so that these categories become public matters and opinions.

Through exploring the settler-colonial and governance that exists on the part of the Canadian government, I examined two case studies in the latter portion of my paper. Addressing policies that have been created and are still being considered further supports the narrow focus of the Canadian government and its policing and security agencies. It is vital to understand the legal clauses that allow police agencies to invade the homes of those who peacefully protest

administrative enterprises on the unceded land. On April 29, 2022, the United Nations sent an urgent request to the province of British Columbia and the RCMP to stop violating the Indigenous rights of the Wet'suwet'en people through force, surveillance, and criminalization of land defenders (United Nations 2022). The letter urged the halting of intimidation tactics, the forceful evictions of Indigenous people from their land by the RCMP and security agencies, and even arbitrary detentions. In order to make sense of this relationship between Indigenous people and the Canadian government, my first case study addresses ways the government and its agencies can embark on activities outlined in this April 29th UN statement. My second case study addresses the policing of the Idle No More movement and the surveillance activities that partook to target and traumatize Indigenous people on their land. It is interesting to see the disparities within Human Rights outlined by the rights and freedoms of Canada and the violence the government can simultaneously justify when barriers arise. These case studies reflect the success and challenges of resistance movements to counter-respond to post settler-colonial by the Canadian state.

When combining biopolitics, settler governmentality, and social sorting, it is evident to see how the colonial governance of Canada paved its way through history for Canada to find itself in the exact political battle equivalent to itself at the beginning of colonialism, hundreds of years ago. Social sorting creates categories of the "Other", creating disparities among populations and reinforcing colonial notions of the ideal identity. These categories then influence biopolitics and settler governmentality by the Canadian state to establish policies and legislation that are appropriate for addressing threats to the security and wellbeing of the nation. To reflect a political agenda, Sabotaging governance is not a foreign practice to the Canadian state. This

opens the door to violence and heightened and oppressive surveillance by the security state to further promote settler-colonial values such as the pipeline construction.

Post 9/11 policies and opinions surrounding national security and threats to the wellbeing of a nation have primarily been premised on race, with the exception of the clear terrorist organizations that are non-Indigenous. It is not a wonder that the racist ideologies surrounding terrorists have extended to Indigenous people as this is the type of belief that the Canadian government promotes to its citizens.

This paper explored the increased power efforts of the Canadian security state to Indigenous people of Canada, focusing on resistance to the government and policing of resistance efforts as a consequence, and how this reflects settler governmentality. While Canada promotes a philosophy of ‘protecting Canadians and the wellbeing of the nation’, it is obvious the government utilizes racialized forms of surveillance and policing. Canadian governance models, mandates, and policies around intelligence and security are reflective to that of the past and are rooted in settler colonialism. While Canada continues to apologize for its colonial history and attempts to mend its relationship with Indigenous people, it is clear how these efforts are not conducive to the practices exercised in protesting itself.

### **A Future Vision: Research Ahead**

Due to the MRP’s limitations and the pandemic of COVID-19, this project remained a research paper premised on sociological inquiry and existing literature to explore the post-settler-colonial relationship between Canada to its Indigenous population. To extend this research, I would have liked to explore further the lived experiences of Indigenous people who face the pipeline construction and the violence of policing and security agencies. Gathering my research would not only serve as additional statistics and inquiry but further humanize this issue,

which is often overlooked by the public. I think it is important to address the racial disparities within Canada, not just in terms of national security policies but also in healthcare, housing, and employment. I would have held interviews with both Wet'suwet'en people of Northern British Columbia and further exercised my right as a Canadian citizen to access information by the security state on how they respond and address national security threats.

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